previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves must be directed.

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SIR G. H. SEYMOUR TO LOED JOHN RUSSELL.

St. PRIERSBURG, Jan. 11, 1853.

My LOED—On the evening of the 9th instant I had the honor of seeing the Emperor at the palace of the Grand I uchess Helen, who, it appeared, had kindly requested remission to invite Lady Seymour and myself to meet the imperial family.

The Emperor came up to me, in the most gracious manner, to say that he had heard with great pleasure of her Majesty's government having been definitively formed, adding that he trusted the Ministry would be of long curation.

namer, to say that he had heard with great pleasure of her Majesty's government having been definitively formed, adding that he trasted the Ministry would be of long curation.

His Imperial Majesty desired me particularly to convey this assurance to the Earl of Aberdeen, with whom, he said, he had been acquainted for nearly forty years, and for whom he entertained equal regard and esteem. His Majesty desired to be brought to the kind recollection of his lordship.

You know my feelings, the Emperor said, with regard to England. What I have told you before I say again; it was intended that the two countries should be upon terms of close amity; and I feel sure that this will continue to be the case. You have now been a certain time here, and, as you have seen, there have been very few points upon which we have disagreed; our interests, in fact, are upon almost all questions the same.

I observed that I really was not aware that since I had been at St. Petersburg there had been any actual disagreements whatever between us, except with regard to Louis Napeleon's No. III., a point respecting which each government had its own opinion, but a point which, after all, was very immaterial.

The No. III., the Emperor replied, would involve a long explanation; I will, therefore, not touch upon the subject at present. I should be glad, however, that you should hear what I have to say upon the question, and will beg of you to call upon me some morning when I am a little free from engagements.

I, of course, requested that his Majesty would be good enough to lay his orders upon me.

In the meantime, the Emperor went on to say.—I repeat that it is very essential that the two governments—that is, that the English government and I, and I and the English government—should be upon the bost terms; and the necessity was never greater than at present. I beg you to convey these words to Lord John Russell. When we are agreed, I am quite without anxiety as to the west of Europe; it is immaterial what the others may think or to convey thes

Sir, I observed, your Majesty has been good enough to charge me with general assurances as to the identity of which we have a second to the provision me he greatest pleasure, and will be received with equal satisfaction in England. But I should be particularly glad, that your Majesty should add a few words which may tend to calm the anxiety with regard to the wind and the part of her Majesty's government. Perhaps you will be pleased to charge me with some additional assurances of this sind, showed that his Majesty had no intention of speaking to me of the demonstration which he is about to make in the south. He said, however, at first with a little hesitation, but, as he proceeded, in an open and every disorganized condition; the country itself seems to he failing to pieces; the fail will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should every disorganized condition; the country itself seems to he failing to pieces; the fail will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should every disorganized condition; the country itself seems to which the other is not apprised."

I observed in a few words that it rejuded to hear that his imperial Majesty held this language; that this was questions are to be treated.

"Stay," the Empero said, as if proceeding with his remark; who have on our hands a sick mane a very sick man. It will be, I fell you frankly, a great misfortune cially before all necessary arrangements were undefined by the contrast of the stay from the treatment of the said of th

if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople.

I thanked his Majesty for the frankness of his declarations, and for the desire which he had expressed of actions cordially and openly with her Majesty's government, observing, at the same time, that such an understanding appeared the best security against the sudden danger to which his Majesty had alluded. I added, that, although unprepared to give a decided opinion upon questions of such magnitude and delicacy, it appeared to me possible that some such arrangement might be made between her Majesty's government and his Majesty, as might guard, if not for, at least against, certain contingencies.

To render my meaning more clear, I said further:—I can only repeat, sir, that in my opinion, her Majesty's government will be indisposed to make certain arrangements connected with the downfall of Turkey, but it is possible that they may be ready to pleake themselves against certain arrangements which might, in that event, he attempted.

His Imperial Majesty then alluded to a conversation which he had held, the last time he was in England, with the Puke of Wellington, and to the motives which compelled him to open himself to his Grace. Then, as now, his Majesty was, he said, eager to provide against events which, in the absence of any concert, might compel him to act in a manner opposed to the events of the day, when the Emperor briefly recapitulated his claims upon the Holy I bases: claims recognized by the firman of last February, and confirmed by a sanction to which his Majesty's and he attached much more importance—the word of a severeign.

second in the execution of promises so made, and so ratified, the fing our gaid he must insist upon, but was willing to be

lieve that his object would be attained by negotiation, the last advices from Constantinopie being rather more sate a lexpressed my belief that negotiation, followed, as I supposed it had been, by the threats of military measures, would be found achieved the survey of the survey when the survey were not the intentions of his Majesty, but the actual result of the survey were not the intentions of his Majesty, but the actual result of the survey of

which would arise from an extension given to an empire already too large. A vigorous and ambitious State, re-placing the Sublime Porte, might, however, render war on the part of Russia a necessity for the Emperor er his

on the part of Russia a necessity for the Emperor or his successors.

This European conflict would arise from the very means taken to prevent it; for neither England nor France, nor probably Austria, would be content to see Constantinople permanently in the hands of Russia.

On the part of Great Britain, her Majesty's Government at once acclare that they renounce all intention or wish to hold Constantinople. His Imperial Majesty may be quite secure on this head. They are likewise ready to give an assurance that they will enter into no agreement to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey, without previous communication with the Emperor of Russia.

Upon the whole, then, her Majesty's Government are persuaded that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which his Imperial Majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory.

With a view to the success of this policy, it is desirable

immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory.

With a view to the success of this policy, it is desirable that the utmost forbearance should be manifested towards Turkey; that any demands which the great Powers of Europe may have to make, should be made matter of friendly negotiation rather than of peremptory demand; that military and naval demonstrations to coerce the Sultan should as much as possible be avoided; that differences with respect to matters affecting Turkey, within the competence of the Sublime Porte, should be decided after mutual concert between the great Powers, and not be forced upon the weakness of the Turkish government.

ment.

To these cautions her Majesty's government wish to add that, in their view, it is essential that the Sultan should be advised to treat his Christian subjects in conformity with the principles of equity and religious freedom, which prevail generally among the enlightened nations of Europe. The more the Turkish government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his Imperial Majesty has found so burthensome and inconvenient, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.

enty.
You may read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and,

Majesty has found so burthensome and monvement, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty.

You may read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if it is desired, you may yourself place a copy of it in the hands of the Emperor. In that case you will accompany its presentation with those assurances of friendship and confidence on the part of her Majesty the Queen, which the conduct of his Imperial Majesty was so sure to inspire. I am, &c.,

SIR G. H. SEYMOUR TO LORD JOHN RUSSEILL.

SIR G. H. SEYMOUR TO HE AND THE SERVICE TO SERVICE

eent; you will come to me to morrow, and you will remember that as often as you think your conversing with me will promote a good understanding upon any point, you will send word that you wish to see me.

I thanked his Majesty very cordially, adding that I could assure him that her Majesty's government, I was convinced, considered his word, once given, as good as a bond.

convinced, considered his word, once given, as good as a bond.

It is hardly necessary that I should observe to your lordship that this short conversation, briefly but correctly reported, offers matter for most anxious reflection. It can hardly be otherwise but that the sovereign who insits with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighboring State, must have settled in his own mind that the hour, if not of its dissolution, at all events for its dissolution, must be at hand.

Then, as now, I reflected that this assumption would hardly be ventured upon unless some, perhaps general, but at all events intimate, understanding, existed between Russia and Austria.

Supposing my suspicion to be well founded, the Emperor's object is to engage her Majesty's government in conjunction with his own cabinet and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement.

SIR. G. H. SEYMOUR TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

SIR. G M. SEYMOUR TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Sr. Physicsus Feb. 22, 1853.

I had the honor of waiting yesterday upon the Emperor, and of holding with his Majesty one of the most interesting conversations in which I ever found myself engaged. My only regret is my inability to report in full detail a dialogue which lasted an hour and twelve minutes.

minutes.

The Emperor began by desiring me to read to him aloud your incidnity secret and confidential despatch of the the translation of providing secret and confidential despatch of the the man and the control of t

cabinet, and that in these days it could not be permitted that the Turks should illtreat and even murder a Christian population.

I ventured to remark that upon this point the wrongs were at least divided between the Turks and the Montenegrins, and that I had full reason for believing that the provocation came from the latter. The Emperor, with more impartiality than I had expected, admitted that there had been wrongs on both sides; that certainly the mountaineers were rather addicted to brigandage; and that the taking of Djablak had caused him great indignation. At the same time, his Majesty said, it is impossible not to feel great interest in a population warmly attached to their religion, who have so long kept their ground against the Turks; and the Emperor continued: It may be fair to tell you that if any attempts at exterminating these people should be made by timer Pacha, and should a general rising of the Christians take place in consequence, the Sultan will, in all probability, lose his throne; in this case he falls to rise no more. I wish to support his authority, but if he loses it, it is gone for ever. The Turkish empire is a thing to be tolerated, not to be reconstructed; in such a cause, I protest to you, I will not allow a pistol to be fired.

The Emperor went on to say that, in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. The Principalities are, he soid, in fact, an independent State under my protection; this might to continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria. There seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent State.

As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to

seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent State.

As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to Fagland of that territery. I can then only say, that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fail of the Empire, you should take possession of Fig. 14, 14 all have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia. That island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession.

As I did not wish that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered, that I had always understood

that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready commication between British India and the mother country.

The conversation now drawing towards an end, the Emperor expressed his warm attachment to the Queen, our gracious Sovereign, and his respect for her Majesty's present advisers. The declarations contained in your lordship's despatch had been, he said, very satisfactory; he could only desire that they should be a little amplified. The terms in which your lordship had spoken of his conduct were, the Emperor said, very flattering to him.

his conduct were, the Emperor said, very flattering to him.

In dismissing me, his Imperial Majesty said, "Well, induce your government to write again upon these subjects—to write more fully, and to do so without hesitation; I have confidence in the English government. It is not an engagement—a convention—which I ask of them; it is a free interchange of ideas, and, in case of need, the word of a gentleman; that it is enough between us."

I may only add, apologetically, that I may possibly have failed in reporting some part of his Majesty's conversation, and that I am conscious of having forgotten the precise terms employed by him with respect to the commercial policy to be observed at Constantinople when no longer held by the Turks.

The purport of the obversation was that England and Russia had a common interest in providing for the readiest access to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

SIR G. H. SEYMOUR TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

sin G. H. SETMOUR TO THE RARLO OF CLARKNOON.

When I waited upon the Season March 3, 1853.

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At first, Count Nesselrode invited me to read the paper. He subsequently observed that If, instead of reading it at the time, I chose to take it away, I wast Illibrated to the Season March 18, 1853.

At first, Count Nesselrode invited me to read the paper. He subsequently observed that I should find in the memorandum indications of the Emperor's wish to be further informed of the feelings of her Malesty's government as to what should not be permitted to take place in the event of any great catasatrophe in Turkey, and I, on my side, remarked that, as the should not be long kept up.

I have the honor of inclosing to your lordahip a copy of what, under the circumstances which have attended its drawing up and delivery, cannot fail of being considered as one of the most remarkable papers which have hen issued. I do not asy from the Russian "Chanceller is drawing up and delivery, cannot fail of being considered as one of the most remarkable papers which have hen insued. I do not asy from the Russian "Chanceller is which the memorandum advances, or to show that the impression under which it has been framed is an incorrect one; that impression being evidently that, in the disputes carried on between Russia and France, her Might was the should be containtingly to the latter than the should be should be containtingly to the latter than the should be should be conta

inco of it imminent. But after all, it may happen—happen even unexpectedly. Without mentioning the ever the moral, financial, and administration of it in fancial, and administration of the wo questions mentioned by the English Ministry in its secret despatch. In truth, it perceives in those questions only mere disputes, which would not differ in heir bearing from difficulties which form the ordinary-business of diplomacy. But that kind of dispute may, nevertheless, bring on war, and with war the consequences which the Emperor appelends from it; if, for instance, in the affgir of the Holy Places, the amour-proper and the menaces of 7 rance, continuing to press upon the Porte, should compel it to refuse us all satisfaction, and if, on the other hand. In the light of the state of the orthodox of the beautiful of the state of the orthodox of the beautiful of the state of the orthodox of the beautiful of the state of the orthodox of the beautiful of the state of the orthodox of the state of the orthodox of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state of the state of the orthodox of the state o

desired it might be, but he was not sure that he could not doubt that her Majesty's government had taken too favorable a view of the state of the Christian population in Turkey; the Sultan might have intended to better their condition—might have given orders in that sense—but he was quite certain that his commands had not heen attended to.

Upon my remarking that her Majesty's government were understood to receive very accurate reports of what passes in Turkey, the Emperor replied with considerable

The property of the property o In the House of Commons on the 17th ult., Mr. Minner Groso rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given netice, that instructions should be issued to her Majesty's cruisers not to interfere with neutral vessels, carrying goods the property of the enemy, if not contraband of war. He said: Sir, I have thought it consistent without any duty to call the attention of the house at the property of the enemy, if not contraband of war. He said: Sir, I have thought it consistent without many duty to call the attention of the house at the property of the enemy, if not contraband of war. He said: Sir, I have thought it consistent without the property of the enemy, if not contraband of war, the said of the property of the enemy, if not contraband it was the position in which neutral mercantile vessels may find the melves during the continuance of hostilities. We are on terms of the most perfect anity with France and with the United States of America—two of the most important naval and commercial Powers in the world besides ourselves—and, therefore, we might probably obtain their assent to such an alteration of international law upon this subject, as would be besides ourselves—and, therefore, we might probably obtain their assent to such an alteration of international law upon this subject, as would be besides ourselves—and in the exercise of our own discretion, to endeavor to carry on war with greater respect to private property than has yet been done, and with greater liberty to carry on commercial transactions. I wish to give no opinion on the question whether the war itself is politic or impolitic—merely assume, for the sake of argument, that you are in a state of war, and I ask you to consider world give interest of the said of the property of the commercial consideration with for said and the property in the property of the commercial consideration with for property in the property of the commercial consideration. I do not read to take the property of the commercial property of the commercial property of the